# Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and its Decoration

Studies in Honor of Slobodan Ćurčić

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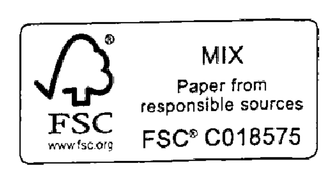
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(Cambridge, 2006); W. Rosen, *Justinian's Flea. Plague, Empire, and the Birth of Europe* (New York, 2007).

27 I am grateful to Lioba Theis for this suggestion at the Byzantine Studies Conference in 2004.

28 Personal communication from Alexandros Koupparis, excavation foreman for the Princeton Expedition.

29 As per Bakirtzis, "Early Christian Rock-Cut Tombs," 40.

30 E. Gjerstad et al., *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, II: Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus 1927–1931* (Stockholm, 1935), 455ff.

31 On burial grounds within the ancient walls of cities see G. Dagron, "Le christianisme dans la ville byzantine," *DOP* 31 (1977): 11ff.

32 V. Von Falkenhausen, "Bishops and Monks in the Hagiography of Byzantine Cyprus," in *Medieval Cyprus. Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, ed. N. Ševčenko and K. Moss (Princeton, NJ, 1999), 21–33, especially 28–30.

33 P. Aupert et al., *Guide d'Amathonte* (Paris, 1996), 156–8.

34 Prokopiou, "Amathous. East Necropolis," 30.

35 C. Humphrey, *Time in the Medieval World* (Rochester, NY, 2001), 41.

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## The Syntax of *Spolia* in Byzantine Thessalonike

*Ludovico V. Geymonat*

The word *spolia* is a plural noun from the Latin *spolium*, meaning the hide or fleece stripped from the body of an animal. More generally, *spolia* referred to a soldier's booty or the spoils of war. Architectural historians use the term today to refer to artifacts "incorporated into a setting culturally or chronologically different from that of [their] creation."[1] According to this definition, *spolia* are pieces of architectural material, either found on the ground or purposely gathered by stripping a standing building, which are incorporated into a new monument that is being built. The use of *spolia* establishes a relationship—whether deliberately or not—with visual and architectural remains from the past. The selection of *spolia* and the specific uses to which they are put ought to tell us something about that relationship, at least as far as those responsible for the monuments being built are concerned.[2] This chapter looks at selected examples of the use—and in one case, the telling lack of use—of architectural *spolia* in Thessalonike, and it proposes that a dramatic change in the meaning of the use of *spolia* can be detected with the end of Byzantine rule over the city in the fifteenth century.

Thessalonike was founded around 316 BCE by Cassander and has been continuously inhabited ever since.[3] The question of what to do with earlier buildings on site—to use, renovate, or dismantle them—must have faced each generation of citizens throughout the city's long urban history. The presence of ancient buildings, in varying degrees of conservation and offering a plethora of architectural *spolia*, is common to a number of cities founded in Antiquity and continuously inhabited over a long stretch of time. One of the distinctive features in the case of Thessalonike, however, is its role as the second-largest city in the Byzantine Empire and the alleged continuity that the citizens of that empire felt with the Hellenistic and Roman past—a continuity that was to be drastically interrupted with the fall of the city to the Ottomans in 1430.



Figure 2.1 Thessalonike, Roman Agora. Plinths used as construction blocks, south side (photo: author).

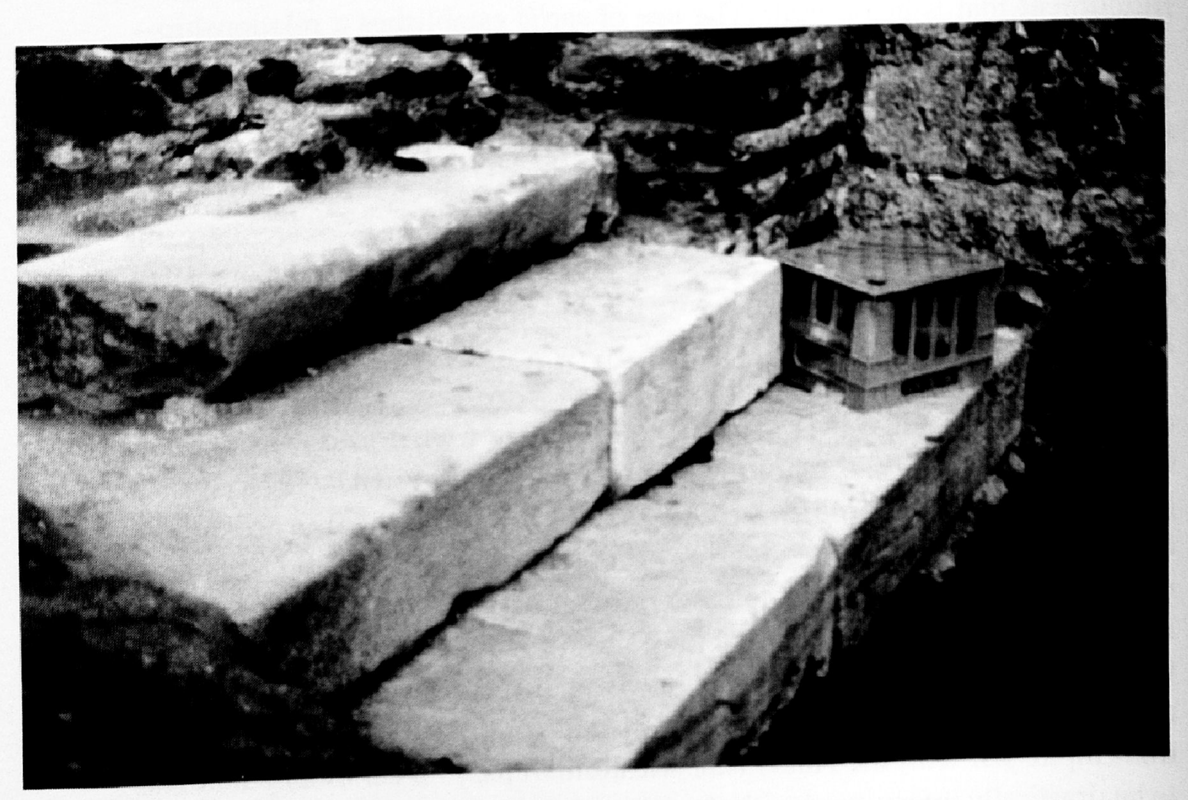


Figure 2.2 Thessalonike, Palace of Galerius. Half column shaft used as a step in a staircase (photo: author).

At the very moment that a number of cities in Europe were reassessing their own history as ancient cities and looking to the ruins in their midst for evidence of their glorious past, in Thessalonike, the dramatic change of rule must have required a different sort of reassessment of the city's continuity with both its ancient and more recent past. One place we might seek clues about how the people of Byzantine and early Ottoman Thessalonike thought about and related to the history of their city is by looking at how they used recognizable fragments of older buildings in their own constructions. Does the evidence provided by their use of *spolia* attest to any identifiable sense on their part of continuity or rupture with the city's past?

The use of *spolia* is extensive in Thessalonike and is noticeable in a number of monuments from almost all periods of the long Byzantine history of the city.[4] The evidence ranges from the reworking and adaptation of earlier pieces of sculpture to the reuse of single architectural components such as column shafts and capitals. In the Roman Agora, for instance, two carved plinths are turned on their side and embedded in the wall bordering the road running along the south side (Figure 2.1). These plinths presumably once supported statues that were knocked down in unknown circumstances. A column shaft, cut vertically in half, is used as a step of a large staircase in the palace of Galerius (Figure 2.2). The variety of columns in the city's Middle Byzantine churches suggests that they were not originally carved for the buildings in which we now find them. These and countless other instances attest to the plentiful availability of *spolia* in the city.

Among the most extensive and telling examples are those on the city walls that surround the historic center.[5] Some of the construction materials for these walls came from earlier buildings in which they had an entirely different function. Ionic capitals are used along the base of a tower, and there are lintels and drums, and sometimes entire columns, embedded in the walls (Figures 2.3–2.4). Since these pieces are not simple bricks, and since they are not carved specifically to be used for this purpose, their insertion into the walls, and their adaptation to the new location, must have required a degree of skill. This is especially true for circular shaped elements such as columns.[6]

The most systematic use of *spolia* can be found along the base of a long stretch of the west wall from the Vardari fortress to the Letaia gate (Figure 2.5). Regular courses of rectangular marble slabs are set below the brick masonry. There can be as few as one or two courses, but along certain sections there are more than 10 superimposed courses. According to Petros Papageorgiou, who published an article on this topic in 1911, there were also similar courses of marble slabs along the eastern stretch of the fortifications, which was demolished along with the sea walls beginning in 1873.[7] Working from the marble slabs found on the western walls, Papageorgiou classified seven different types according to their shape and frame (Figure 2.6). They are blocks of local marble approximately 0.30–0.35 m high, 0.85–1.00 m wide,

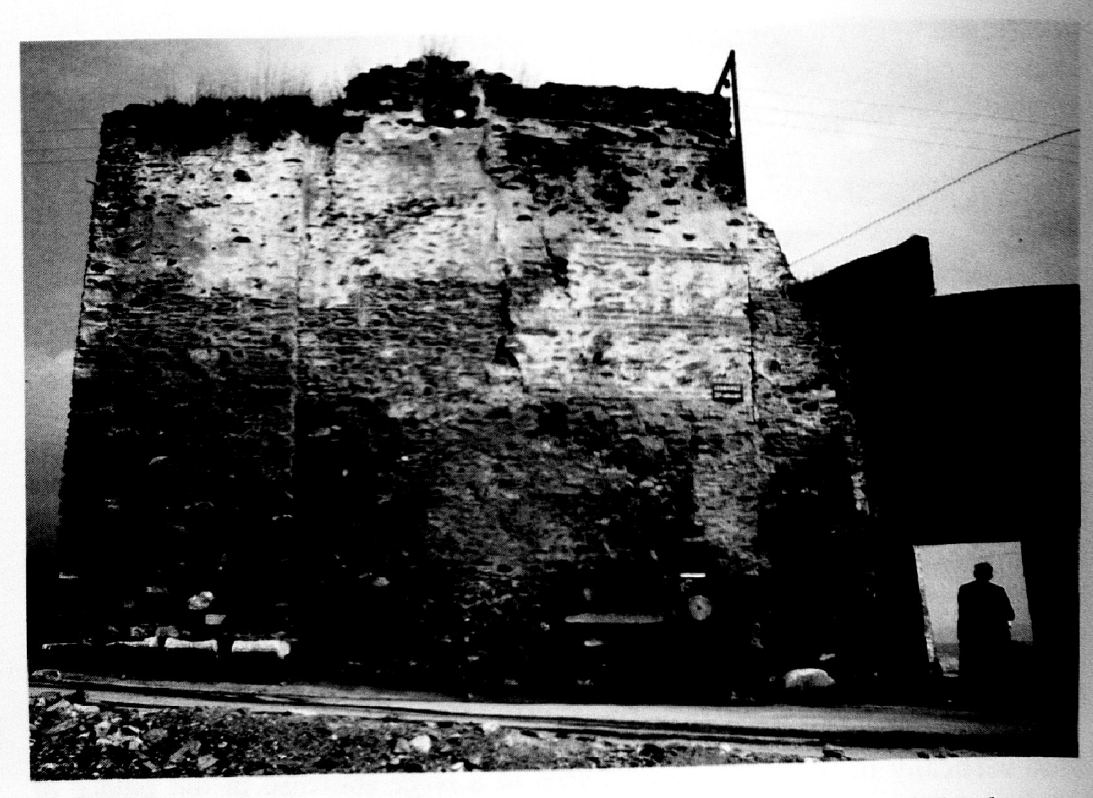


Figure 2.3 Thessalonike, fortification walls. Ionic capitals and other *spolia*. On the right, Richard Krautheimer (photo: Slobodan Ćurčić, 1972).



Figure 2.4 Thessalonike, fortification walls. Column shafts (photo: author).



Figure 2.5 Thessalonike, fortification walls, western part (photo: author).

and from 0.50 to 3.00 m long. In most cases, a plain frame is carved along the longer edges of one of the narrow faces of the block. In some of the shorter slabs, the frame curves inward either in the middle or on one side of the face.

The east and west walls along the lower, flatter part of the city surrounded the main gates and are not far from the sea. They were among the most visible, and possibly vulnerable stretches of the walls, and are heavily fortified by a series of triangular bulwarks. The placement of marble slabs along these two sections may have had a defensive purpose. The blocks strengthened the base of the fortification and, where there are several superimposed courses, covered the walls with a marble shield to impressive visual effect. However, these blocks were clearly not carved with the aim of protecting the walls. Their peculiar shape is not found in other Late Antique monuments and their original function is not apparent.

Papageorgiou collected and published a series of inscriptions written in red ink on the narrow faces of these slabs. According to Papageorgiou, there are single and double Greek letters such as Φ, X, AB, ΓA, which may be masons' marks, and abbreviations and monograms of names such as ΠΑΠΟΑΡΜ and ΠΑΠΑΡΤΜ for Παπ(ι)ο(υ) 'Αρ(τε)μ(ιδωρου); T MAI and the corresponding monogram for Τ(ιτου) Μαι(ου); the Latin letters "serv" for Serv(ilii) and "rom" for Rom(ani), etc. Papageorgiou maintained that these inscriptions correspond to names of people and families like those found on the benches of ancient theaters. On this basis, he argued that they had once been the seats and

benches of the hippodrome of Thessalonike. In an article on this monument, Michael Vickers agreed with Papageorgiou and maintained that the available evidence from the hippodrome confirms this hypothesis.[8] In Vickers's opinion, the results of excavations indicated that part of the foundations of the eastern wall—now leveled but formerly showing some of these same marble slabs—lay above those of the hippodrome. It follows that the hippodrome was rearranged during the building of this stretch of the fortifications.[9]

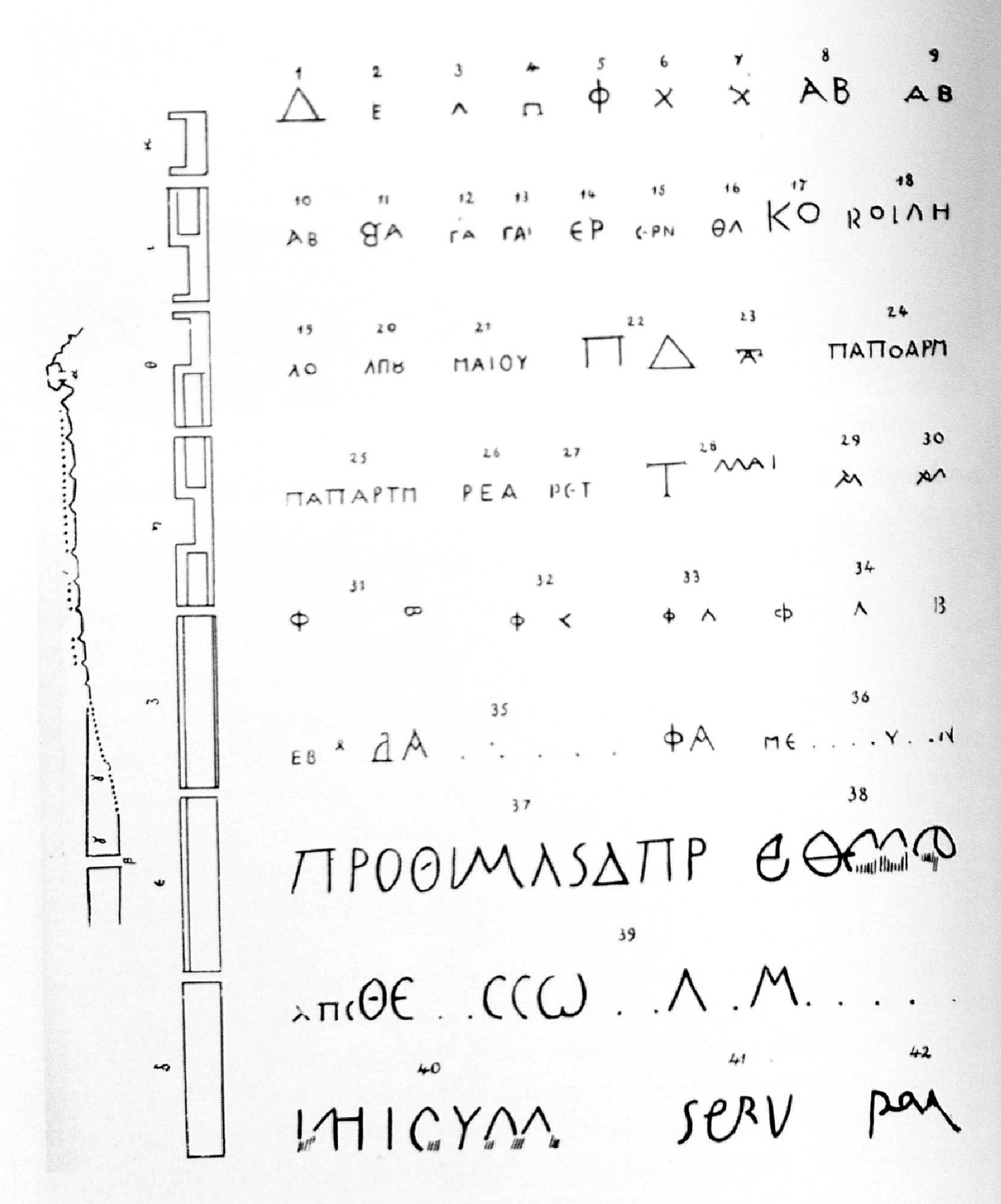


Figure 2.6 Classification of marble slabs, masons' marks, and inscriptions [from P. N. Papageorgiou, "Workmen Marks and Names of the Marble Slabs from the Theater in Thessaloniki," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1911), 169].



Figure 2.7 Thessalonike, Hagia Sophia. Capital with wind-swept acanthus leaves, north aisle (photo: Mark J. Johnson).

The hippodrome has a dramatic history. In 390, Butheric, the chief of the Gothic garrison, imprisoned a popular charioteer and refused to release him before the chariot races. A riot broke out and Butheric and other officials were killed. The emperor Theodosius summoned the local population to the hippodrome, shut them in, and ordered the Gothic mercenaries to slaughter them. The building thus became the stage of the massacre of 7,000 citizens.[10]

The monument must have acquired a fearful connotation after this tragedy. It was in use again in the fifth century and possibly later, but it seems a reasonable conjecture that some kind of work on the building might have been undertaken after 390 in order to change its appearance and ward off the memory of the massacre.[11] The stripping of the seats and their reuse as *spolia* to strengthen the city walls might be related to these grisly events. If this was indeed the case, one wonders for how long the link between the marble slabs on the city walls and the hippodrome was remembered by the citizenry of Thessalonike.[12]

Another important instance of the use of *spolia* is found in the Byzantine cathedral church of Hagia Sophia.[13] The columns separating the naos from the aisles are crowned by a beautiful set of capitals with wind-swept acanthus leaves of the type dating from the early sixth century (Figure 2.7). Only the capitals of the north aisle are original; those of the south aisle were destroyed by fire in 1890 and restored with plaster.[14] Capitals with windswept acanthus leaves were no longer being carved when the present church was built in the eighth century; they must be *spolia*, carefully selected for recycling in the building of the new church. It is difficult to ascertain what building they came from. They may have belonged to the previous Episcopal basilica, which probably collapsed in the earthquakes of 620–630. This was a large five-aisled Early-Christian basilica of an entirely different plan from the present church. The ancient capitals with windswept leaves were readymade, beautifully carved capitals of valuable marble. But they were also *spolia* from an earlier religious building and we may suppose that they were considered precious and holy because of this origin.

Other instances attest to the fact that *spolia* could have a religious value beyond their function as building materials. A marble slab originating from the church of Hagia Sophia, now in the Museum of Byzantine Culture, serves as a useful example (Figure 2.8). The panel, used horizontally, was carved with framed crosses in Early Christian times. In the Byzantine period, the crosses were covered with plaster, the panel was turned vertically, and a standing saint was painted over the marble relief (only fragments of the painted plaster remain today). What really mattered in the case of the marble slab was not the aesthetic value of the crosses and frames, but the spiritual significance of the slab: its material yet sacred presence underneath the mortar. This *spolium*, in other words, had become a relic to be preserved.[15] The same would have happened to the acanthus-leaf capitals coming, in all probability, from a



Figure 2.8 Thessalonike, Museum of Byzantine Culture. Painted marble slabs from Hagia Sophia (photo: author, with permission from the Greek Ministry of Culture & Tourism).



Figure 2.9 Thessalonike, Panagia Chalkeon, south façade (photo: Mark J. Johnson).

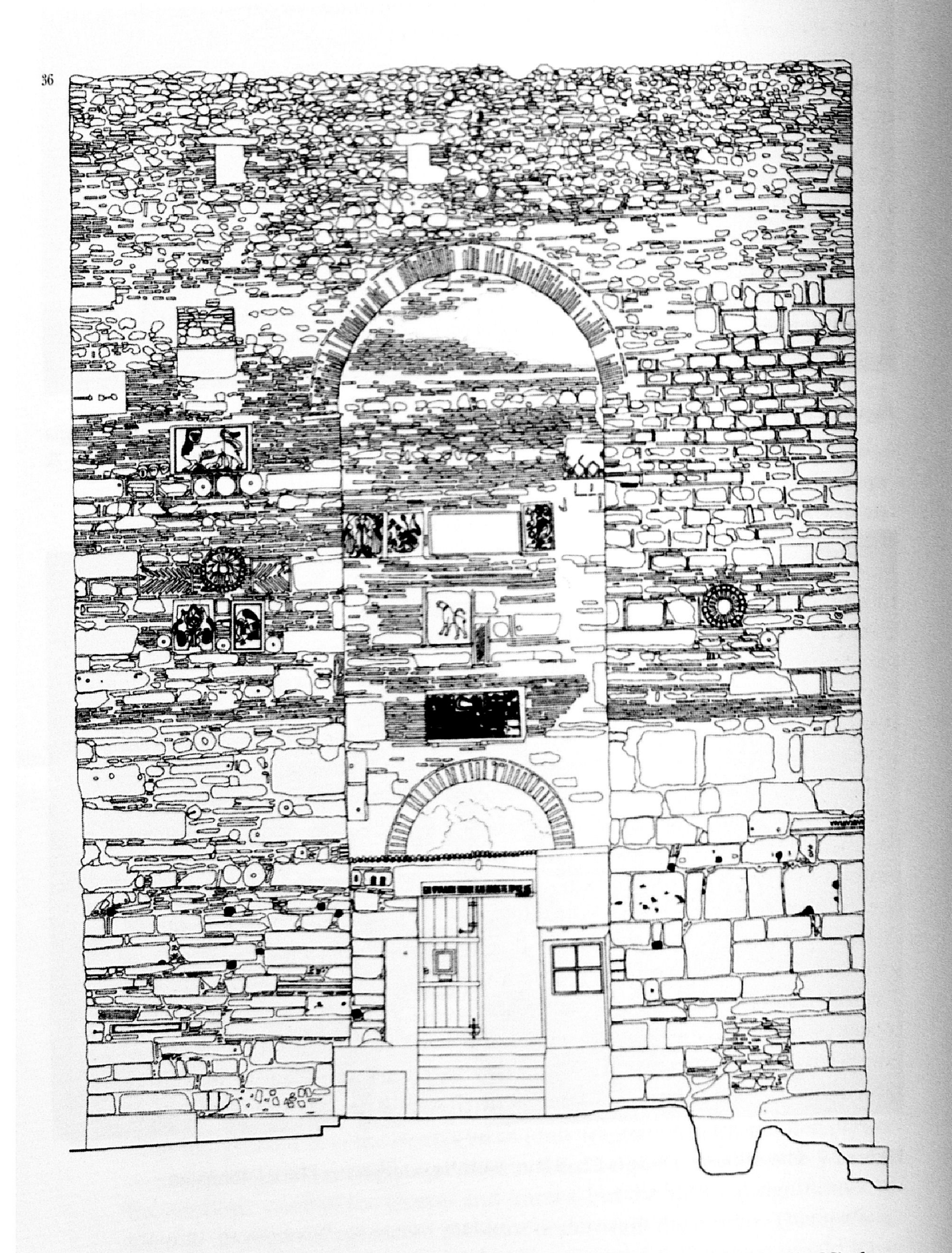


Figure 2.10 Thessalonike, Eptapyrgion. Main gate and tower (drawing by E. Malle, Ninth Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities, with permission).

Christian building of some antiquity and prestige. In this case, however, the fine carving on the capitals was also valued and displayed.

The Panagia Chalkeon presents an interesting case of a monument that lacks any kind of *spolia* even though it was built on a site—the southwest corner of the Roman agora's lower square—that must have offered plenty of them.[16] Consecrated in 1028, the church is a remarkable example of the Middle Byzantine cross-in-square type with four columns (Figure 2.9). It is uniformly built according to a well-characterized design: two-story narthex with domed side chapels, elegant rows of windows, indented arches, dentil bands, octagonal drums, and brick half-columns. A marble cornice surrounds the entire church, and all of the sculpted pieces, including the capitals on the interior, seem to have been carved specifically for this building. Only the shafts of the four columns in the naos might be reused pieces.

Why did the builders not use *spolia* in this instance? They were in all probability readily available in the ancient Roman agora. It may be that a building of such accurately ordered design as the Panagia Chalkeon would not so easily allow for the fitting of *spolia* in it. But another reason for the absence of *spolia* is suggested by an inscription on the lintel above the main entrance stating that the church was consecrated in 1028 by the *protospatharios* Christophoros, the *katepan* of Langobardia, and his family, in a place that had once been "profane."[17] The expression ὁ πρὴν βέβηλος τόπος probably means that a pagan building had previously occupied the site. Such an explicit statement indicates the importance of making the place Christian by building a church. From this, one might infer that avoiding the use of *spolia* from ancient buildings was a way of preventing any possible contamination by monuments belonging to the heathen past.

My final example presents a distinct case, one that is considerably later than the preceding examples. *Spolia* are used extensively in the façade of the main entrance tower to the Eptapyrgion (Figures 2.10–2.12), and their various meanings there are worth investigating. The fortress was built on the northeast section and uppermost part of Thessalonike's Acropolis.[18] A lengthy inscription above the main gate states that the entrance tower was built in 1431 by Sultan Murad, through the hands of Çavuş Beğ.[19] Thessaloniki had been conquered by Murad II the previous year.[20] Various blocks of marble, as well as the shafts of two columns and four Byzantine parapet panels, are fixed in the wall just above the Ottoman inscription. A large relief with an animal suckling its cub (Figure 2.12) is found on the west bulwark surrounded by a series of lintels and blocks, above some drums and bases of columns. A Roman triple portrait, most likely a funerary relief, is inserted in the wall next to it.[21]

The meaning of the remarkable assemblage of *spolia* above the main gate to the Eptapyrgion goes beyond a purely decorative function. The *spolia* there seem to refer, both literally and symbolically, to the spoils of the city.



Figure 2.11 Thessalonike, Eptapyrgion. *Spolia* and inscription on the main gate (photo: author, with permission from the Ninth Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities).



Figure 2.12 Thessalonike, Eptapyrgion. *Spolia* on the west bulwark of the entrance tower (photo: author, with permission of the Ninth Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities).

By displaying them on the façade of the headquarters of their administration soon after conquering the city on 29 March 1430, the Ottomans were deliberately expressing their power over Thessalonike. They could choose as spoils whatever piece of sculpture they wished, from whatever period of the newly conquered city's long past.

This handful of examples outlined thus far presents a set of divergent cases. First, in fifth-century Thessalonike, marble seats from the hippodrome were transformed into a defensive shield along the city walls. This may have been a symbolic attempt to obliterate the memory of the 390 CE massacre. Second, in the eighth century, four large capitals with wind-swept leaves were placed above the columns of the naos of the Cathedral church, their display showing an appreciation for a sculpted design from two centuries earlier. Third, in the eleventh century, no *spolia* were used in the church of the Panagia Chalkeon despite evidence of their availability; they may have been avoided out of fear of contamination by pagan idols. Finally, in the fifteenth century, an array of *spolia* from different sites and times was arranged on the façade of the Eptapyrgion. This was a display of power over the city and its history—a bold statement that the physical remains of Thessalonike's long past were now in the hands of the new Ottoman rulers.

Is it possible to read the numerous instances of the use of *spolia* in Thessalonike as diverse but comparable examples of a similar trend that, when taken together, tell us more than can be gleaned from each specific case taken on its own? At first blush, these four examples of the use of *spolia,* when viewed in the context of the countless others throughout the city, suggest that any attempt at categorization is futile: the contexts and reasons for the use of *spolia,* and the possible meanings associated with them, are too varied and elusive.

I would like to suggest, however, that despite initial appearances, the evidence does in fact warrant a more comprehensive interpretation of the use of *spolia* in Thessalonike, and that this interpretation suggests something of relevance beyond the confines of that city. In the examples dating from the time of Byzantine rule, the guiding principle seems to be that availability leads to use. This pragmatic attitude may well recognize the symbolic meaning associated with building materials, and obviously appreciates the aesthetic quality of carved stones and their possible visual effects. At its core, however, the prevailing idea is that whatever the accidents of history have made available is legitimate material for the purposes of the present.[22] What these examples attest to is a sense of urban continuity, and by extension historical continuity. In the case of the Panagia Chalkeon, if the theory is correct, it is precisely an intentional discontinuity—referred to in the inscription ὁ πρὴν βέβηλος τόπος on the lintel of the main portal—that prevents the builders there from using *spolia.* Whenever *spolia* are used—as they so often are, in all sorts of buildings from all periods of the long Byzantine history of

Thessalonike—an immediate, pragmatic relationship prevails, an attitude to older architectural material that implies continuity with the past. This attitude is well represented by a large fifth-century impost block, now in the Museum of Byzantine Culture, which was later turned upside down and converted into a well-curb (Figure 2.13).

The façade of the Eptapyrgion is a radically different case, however. The variety of *spolia* displayed there involved a process of selection from different sites, possibly at some distance from each other and from the Eptapyrgion itself. The arrangement of the carved stones above the entrance, and the Ottoman inscription informing the viewer of the date and patron of the tower indicate premeditated symbolic intentions. Here, the builders gathered and fixed on the façade of the fortress marble carvings which are not simply *spolia*, in the sense of recycled building components, but also spoils, trophies from a recent victory. More than in any of the Byzantine examples, the use of *spolia* on the façade of the Eptapyrgion suggests a connection between *spolia* and power over the physical remains of the past, and, by implication, expresses an assessment of the site's history. Exactly what statement the Ottoman rulers of



Figure 2.13 Thessalonike, Museum of Byzantine Culture. Impost block reused as a well-curb (photo: author, with permission from the Greek Ministry of Culture & Tourism).

Thessalonike are making by their use of *spolia* is not fully clear. Yet no viewer, of whatever background, could miss the fact that these *spolia* are not used on the façade simply because they were to hand as useful building materials, but because they were war booty, visual expressions of the power conferred by victory.

The display of *spolia* on the façade of the Eptapyrgion does not imply, of course, that *spolia* were not also used as practical building materials in Ottoman Thessalonike. Written sources indicate that they were. In the *Diegesis* written by John Anagnostes sometime after the conquest of the city in 1430, the author records that materials from collapsed Byzantine churches "were carried off and added to other newer buildings and particularly to the public bath house which stands in the middle of the city," namely the Bey Hamam built by Murad II in 1444.[23] The novelty is not the use of *spolia*, well attested in the Byzantine precedents, but their symbolic display on the façade of the Ottoman fortress.

It is hard to assess what knowledge of the city's past the new Ottoman rulers of Thessalonike had in the fifteenth century, and what the long history of their newly conquered city meant to them. The *spolia* on the façade of the Eptapyrgion do not provide much evidence in this regard. Their arrangement and display may well follow an ancient tradition of showing publicly the spoils of war more than implying any knowledge of the origin and meaning of those *spolia*.[24] I wonder, however, if the symbolic use of *spolia* on the entrance tower to the Eptapyrgion is not in itself a declaration of discontinuity, a recognition that the present—in this case Ottoman rule—has the power to collect, select, and show the remains of the past, and, by doing so, to transform the past into a historic narrative. *Spolia*, used throughout the Byzantine period in countless forms of practical continuity with the past, are displayed symbolically on the façade of the Eptapyrgion as evidence that the previous chapters in the long history of Thessalonike have now drawn to a close.

The appreciation of *spolia* and their display in forms and settings that imply a break with the past is seen elsewhere in early-modern Europe. In fact, the awareness of a rupture, of a discontinuity with the past, is said to be at the core of the early modern European perception of itself, and of its place in the unfolding of history. The European Renaissance would envision a distant past whose continuity with the present had been broken, and along with it a more recent past—a middle age—that both marks and fills the distance from Antiquity. The Renaissance discourse on history and the past goes hand in hand with a fascination for *spolia* as artifacts displayed in the present in recognition of their belonging to the past. The *spolia* on the façade of the Eptapyrgion suggests that something of this kind was also happening in early Ottoman Thessalonike.[25]

## Acknowledgments

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## Notes

1 D. Kinney, "The Concept of Spolia," *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. C. Rudolph (Oxford, 2006), 233–52, on 233.

2 On *spolia* in general see S. Settis, "Continuità, distanza, conoscenza. Tre usi dell'antico," in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana, III. Dalla tradizione all'archeologia*, ed. S. Settis (Torino, 1986), 373–486; M. Greenhalgh, *The Survival of Roman Antiquities in the Middle Ages* (London, 1989); J. Alchermes, "Spolia in Roman Cities of the Late Empire: Legislative Rationales and Architectural Reuse," *DOP* 48 (1994): 167–78; D. Kinney, "Rape or Restitution of the Past? Interpreting *Spolia*," in *The Art of Interpreting*, ed. S. C. Scott (University Park, 1995), 52–67; L. De Lachenal, *Spolia. Uso e reimpiego dell'antico dal III al XIV secolo* (Milan, 1995); *Antike Spolien in der Architektur des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, ed. J. Poeschke (Munich, 1996); D. Kinney, "Spolia. *Damnatio* and *renovatio memoriae*," *MAAR* 42 (1997): 117–48; H. Saradi, "The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments: The Archaeological and Literary Evidence," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3/4 (1997): 395–423; *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo (16–21 aprile 1998)*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 46 (Spoleto, 1999); A. Papalexandrou, "Memory Tattered and Torn: Spolia in the Heartland of Byzantine Hellenism," in *Archaeologies of Memory*, ed. R. M. Van Dyke and S. E. Alcock (Oxford, 2003), 56–80; S. Settis, "Roma: eternità delle rovine," *Eutropia* 3 (2003): 133–43; F. Pontani, "Rovine nella cultura bizantina," *Senso delle rovine e riuso dell'antico*, ed. W. Cupperi (Pisa, 2004), 45–53; M. Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present: Building with Antiquities in the Mediaeval Mediterranean* (Leiden, 2009).

3 On the urban history of Byzantine Thessalonike, see Ch. Bakirtzis, "The Urban Continuity and Size of Late Byzantine Thessalonike," *DOP* 57 (2003): 35–64.

4 R. Cormack, "The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Provincial City: the Evidence of Thessalonike and Aphrodisias," in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition: University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies 1979*, ed. M. Mullett and R. Scott (Birmingham, 1981), 103–19.

5 On the fortification walls of Thessalonike, see J.-M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IVe au VIe siècle: contribution a l'étude d'une ville paléochrétienne* (Athens, 1984), 25–80; G. M. Velenis, *Τα τείχη της Θεσσαλονίκης απο τον Κάσσανδρο ως τον Ηράκλειο* (Thessalonike, 1998); J.-M. Spieser, "Les remparts de Thessalonique," *BSl* 60 (1999): 557–74; N. Bakirtzis, "The Visual Language of Fortification Facades: The Walls of Thessaloniki," *Mnemeio kai Perivallon* 9 (2005): 15–34.

6 The practice of inserting *spolia* in city walls was common. A remarkable example is the gigantic face of Medusa, originally part of a colossal statue, which was embedded in the north fortification wall of Veria not only as building material but also for visual effect. For other cases, see Greenhalgh, *Survival*, 37–55; S. Redford, "The Seljuqs of Rum and the Antique," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 148–56; M. Greenhalgh, "Spolia in Fortifications: Turkey, Syria and North Africa," *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo (16–21 aprile 1998)*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo 46 (Spoleto, 1999), 785–935.

7 P. N. Papageorgiou, "Ἐργατῶν σήματα καὶ ὀνόματα ἐπὶ τῶν μαρμάρων τοῦ θεάτρου τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1911): 168–73.

8 M. Vickers, "The Hippodrome at Thessaloniki," *JRS* 62 (1972): 25–32, on 26 and 30. See also E. Dyggve, "Fouilles et Recherches faites en 1939 et en 1952–53 à Thessaloniki," *CorsiRav* 3 (1957): 79–88, on 81; Velenis, *Τα τείχη της Θεσσαλονίκης*, 108–11, 171. On the Hippodrome at Thessalonike, see also F. Sear, *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study* (Oxford, 2006), 420–21. R. M. Butler, "Late Roman Town Walls in Gaul," *AJ* 116 (1959): 25–50, on 40–41, records the dismantling of important public buildings for the construction of fortification walls and the use of seats from the amphitheatre as foundation blocks in the Late Roman walls of Paris, Metz, and Soissons.

9 For a different reading of the evidence, see Spieser, *Thessalonique*, 66, n. 242.

10 On the Massacre of Thessalonike, see P. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison, 1992), 109–13; D. Washburn, "The Thessalonian Affair in the Fifth-Century Histories," in *Violence in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Practices*, ed. H. A. Drake (Aldershot, 2006), 215–24.

11 Vickers, "Hippodrome," 30–31, refers to an inscription that states that works on the hippodrome were undertaken by a certain "Domitius Catafronius v(ir) p(erfectissimus) proc(urator) – s(acrae) / m(onetae) T(hessalonicensis)." It is not known exactly when these works were undertaken.

12 A distich inscription on the fortification walls records that τείχεσιν ἀρρήκτοις Ὁρμίσδας ἐξετέλεσσε | τήνδε πόλιν μεγάλην χεῖρας ἔχ(ω)ν καθαρά(ς): "with unbreakable walls Hormisdas fortified this great city, having clean hands". It is unlikely that "having clean hands" was meant as an oblique reference to the 390 massacre. Other uses of the expression and its monumental context suggest that the inscription only praises Hormisdas for handling the public funding for the walls honestly; see B. Croke, "Hormisdas and the Late Roman Walls of Thessalonika," *GRBS* 19 (1978): 251–8; E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and A. Tourta, *Wandering in Byzantine Thessaloniki* (Athens, 1997), 20; Velenis, *Τα τείχη της Θεσσαλονίκης*, 111–12, 142, 172; G. Fiaccadori, "Πρόσοψις, non πρόοψις. Efeso, Gerusalemme, Aquileia (nota a IEPH 495, 1 S.)," *La Parola del Passato* 58 (2003): 183–249, on 196–7 and 243; G. Agosti, "Miscellanea epigrafica I. Note letterarie a carmi epigrafici tardoantichi," *Medioevo Greco: Rivista di storia e filologia bizantina* 5 (2005): 1–30, esp. 1–6.

13 K. Theoharidou, *The Architecture of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki: From Its Erection up to the Turkish Conquest* (Oxford, 1988).

14 On these capitals, see Theoharidou, *Hagia Sophia*, 114–16, 214–15.

15 On the topic of the reuse of construction materials from an earlier building in medieval renovations and reconstructions of churches, see R. Ousterhout, "Architecture as Relic and the Construction of Sanctity: The Stones of the Holy Sepulchre," *JSAH* 62 (2003): 4–23.

16 Krautheimer, *ECBA*, 373–4; S. Ćurčić, "Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches," *JSAH* 36 (1977): 94–110, on 106–7; and A. Tsitouridou, *The Church of the Panagia Chalkeon* (Thessaloniki, 1985).

17 + Ἀφηερόθη ὁ πρὴν βέβηλος τόπος εἰς ναὸν περίβλέπτον τῆς Θ(εοτό)κου παρὰ Χριστωφό(ρου) τοῦ ἐνδοξοτά(του) βασιληκοῦ | (πρωτο)σπαθαρήου κ(αὶ) κατ(ε)πάνο Λαγουβαρδίας κ(αὶ) τῖς συνβίου αὐτοῦ Μαρίας κ(αὶ) τῶν τέκνον αὐτῶν Νηκηφό(ρου), Ἄννης κ(αὶ) Κατακαλῖς μηνὴ Σεπτεμβρίο ἠνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιβ' ἔτ(ους) ʹςφλζʹ. + "This once profane place is consecrated to be the glorious church of the Mother of God by Christopher, the most illustrious imperial *protospathario* and *katepano* of Langobardia, his wife Maria, and their children Nicephoro, Anna, and Catacale. Month of September, indiction 12, year 6537 (= 1028)." On the inscription, see J.-M. Spieser, "Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance. I. Les inscriptions de Thessalonique," *TM* 5 (1973): 145–80: 163–4; Tsitouridou, *Panagia Chalkeon*, 9–10; Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and Tourta, *Wandering in Byzantine Thessaloniki*, 177. On the *protospathario* and *katepano* Christophoro, see V. von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 87–8.

18 On the Eptapyrgion, see S. Ćurčić, "Late Medieval Fortified Palaces in the Balkans: Security and Survival," *Mnemeio kai Perivallon* 6 (2000): 11–48: 37–9; E. Tasanana, ed., *The Eptapyrgion: The Citadel of Thessalonike (Thessaloniki, October 2001–January 2002)* (Athens, 2001); Ch. Bakirtzis, "Urban Continuity," 43–6; N. Bakirtzis, "Visual Language," 24; H. W. Lowry, "Selânik's (Thessaloniki's) Fortress of the Seven Towers: What it Tells Us About the Post-Conquest History of the City," in his *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350–1550: The Conquest, Settlement & Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece* (Istanbul, 2008), 107–38.

19 "[Tuğra]: Murad son of Mehmed Han: Conquered and took by force this Fortress (*Qalça*), through the help of God, his support and his might – the Sultan of the Sultans of the Arabs and non-Arabs, the one who humbles the enemies of God, Sultan Murad son of Sultan Mehmed, may victories over his enemies never stop – from the hands of the Franks and the Christians. And he killed some of them and captured some of them and their children and their belongings. And after a year had passed he built and raised this Tower (*Qule*) through the hands of the King of the Emirs and Nobles Çavuş Beğ, in the blessed month of Ramadan in the year 834 [May 13 – June 12, 1431]" – translation from Lowry, "Selânik's (Thessaloniki's) Fortress of the Seven Towers," 120.

20 See S. Vryonis, "The Ottoman Conquest of Thessaloniki in 1430," *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society: Papers given at a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1982*, ed. A. Bryer and H. Lowry (Washington, D.C., 1986), 281–321. On the history of Thessalonike after the Ottoman conquest, see also I. K. Hassiotis, "Thessaloniki under Ottoman Domination: The Early Period (Sixteenth c.–1830)," in *Queen of the Worthy: Thessaloniki, History and Culture*, ed. I. K. Hassiotis (Thessaloniki, 1997), 98–110; and M. Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims, and Jews, 1430–1950* (New York, 2005), 15–45.

21 On the *spolia* on the façade of the Eptapyrgion, see Ch. Bakirtzis, "Urban Continuity," 45; Lowry, "Selânik's (Thessaloniki's) Fortress of the Seven Towers," 126–7; N. Bakirtzis, "Visual Language," 24–6, fig. 14.

22 On this concept, see A. Cutler, "Reuse or Use? Theoretical and Practical Attitudes Toward Objects in the Early Middle Ages," *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto*

*medioevo (16–21 aprile 1998)*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo 46 (Spoleto, 1999), 1055–83.

23 G. Tsaras, ed., *Ἰωάννου Ἀναγνώστου Διήγησις περὶ τῆς τελευταίας ἁλώσεως τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. Μονῳδία ἐπὶ τῇ ἁλώσει τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης* (Thessaloniki, 1958), 64; translation from Vryonis, "The Ottoman Conquest of Thessaloniki," 286, 299.

24 See Lowry, "Selânik's (Thessaloniki's) Fortress of the Seven Towers," 127. For important precedents of the display on city walls of a combination of inscriptions and *spolia* with carved reliefs, see Redford, "The Seljuqs of Rum."

25 On the issue of the early Ottoman attitude towards the past, see R. Ousterhout, "The East, the West, and the Appropriation of the Past in Early Ottoman Architecture," *Gesta* 43 (2004): 165–76.